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MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG THE EASTERN
APACHES PREVIOUS TO THE FOUNDING
OF THE SAN SABA MISSION

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I. THE APACHES IN TEXAS, 1718-1750

From our modern viewpoint we are able to see many causes for the comparative failure of the Spanish system in New Spain. Undoubtedly her exclusive commercial policy, discouraging trade between different parts of her own dominions, her strict and somewhat tyrannical methods of government, and her exploitation of her colonial dominions for the benefit of the home country were largely responsible for her ultimate lack of success in the New World. But the chief causes for this failure, perhaps, were those general conditions for which Spain can not be held accountable, and which would have hindered to an equal degree the efforts of any other colonizing nation in similar circumstances. And one of the most unfavorable of these conditions was the hostility of the natives in the various regions in which Spanish institutions were established.

The truth of this is seen by a study of the region which is now included in the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The varying degrees of success in permanent establishments in the different areas is explained chiefly by the differences in the Indians of the respective sections. In California, for instance, the Spanish system reached a high stage of development, while in Texas, where efforts were begun more than a century earlier, there was little to show after two centuries of labor. In California, the natives were indolent and sluggish, indisposed to warfare; in most of Texas the reverse was true. The fact that the Indians in the greater portion of Texas could never be permanently subjugated and reduced to mission life explains in large measure the comparative failure of Spanish establishments there. To be sure, there were a few small tribes in southwestern Texas which were peaceably inclined, but this was due to their weakness

and insignificance. The large tribes were all independent and self-assertive, and steadfastly refused to bow to the will of the Spaniards, although they often treacherously pretended to do so.

The chief difficulty with which the Spaniards of the eighteenth century had to deal in western Texas was the hostility of the Apaches.¹ From the founding of San Antonio in 1718 we may date the real beginning of this scourge. Hatred against the white man had been aroused at the first coming of the Spaniards when they had assisted the enemies of the Apaches, but it was not until San Antonio was founded that any definite and convenient point of attack had been available. The many raids upon the *presidio* thereafter revealed the fact that the Apaches were a dangerous factor in the life of the settlement.

Recognizing this truth, the Marqués de Aguayo, on his expedition of 1721-1722, tried to make friends with the Apaches, but conciliatory measures were of no avail. The multiplied raids in 1723 forced Captain Nicolás Flores to make a formal campaign against them, but on account of the distance at which they lived and the weak condition of the *presidio*, small permanent good came from this expedition, although it is true that for a few years depredations were less violent.

In 1731, however, the Apaches renewed their attacks and became so troublesome that in the following year a well organized campaign was undertaken against them by Governor Bustillo y Zevallos. The Indians suffered a severe defeat on the San Sabá River, and a treaty of peace was made with them. Their bad faith was soon evident, for almost immediately thereafter San Antonio again suffered a series of raids and massacres unparalleled in previous years.

Some feeble efforts for defense were made by the viceregal government in Mexico. Joseph de Urrutia, a noted Indian fighter, was appointed captain of Béxar, and preparations were made to teach the Apaches a lasting lesson. The usual procrastination followed, however, and, although there was no cessation of attacks by the Indians, it was not until 1739 that another formal expedition got under way. Several campaigns were made from 1740 to

¹The remainder of this section is a summary of my article on "Apache Relations in Texas, 1718-1750," in *THE QUARTERLY*, XIV, 199-274.

1747, but as several of them were undertaken largely for the purpose of obtaining servants they served only to arouse the further enmity of the Apaches.

But what campaigns and conciliatory measures had failed to accomplish was gradually being brought about by pressure upon the Apaches of their arch enemies, the Comanches. As the latter pushed down into the territory occupied by the Lipans (Apaches), these once proud and haughty Indians were forced to turn to the hated whites for protection. In 1749 a great peace was concluded with the tribes to the northeast of San Antonio, and the Apaches assured the Spaniards that they wished to live in *pueblos* under the instruction of the missionaries. With the conclusion of this treaty, the prospects for the conversion and reduction of the Lipans began to seem probable, and renewed efforts were made to accomplish this end.

II. MISSIONARY EFFORTS BEFORE 1752

1. *Summary of Progress up to 1749.*—So far as the available records show, only three definite proposals for missionary work among the Apaches in Texas had been made previous to 1743. In 1723 and 1724, Father González, stationed at the San Antonio missions, had tried to conciliate them and bring about their conversion. In 1725 Father Hidalgo had asked for permission to go alone to their country and work for their salvation. And in 1733 Father Vergara, recognizing the importance of their reduction, had urged that missions be given them. It was ten years before another proposal was made. In March, 1743, Father Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, president of the San Antonio missions, sent a messenger to the viceroy bearing communications in which he urged that immediate steps be taken for the conversion of the Apaches. On account of the hostile attitude of the Comanches and their increased pressure upon the Apaches, the latter, he believed, would welcome the protection of the Spaniards, and a *presidio* in their midst would not only free San Antonio from their hostilities, but would also enable a rich mineral region to be opened up. The captain of Béxar had just sent in a petition asking for permission to make a new campaign against the Apaches, and, owing to the conflicting statements concerning the peaceful disposition

of the Apaches, no decisive action was taken by the authorities. In 1745 Father Santa Ana renewed his petition, and now proposed to place *presidios* on the San Sabá, Pedernales, Salado, and Colorado Rivers, by which action he was convinced that not only the Apaches but also the Comanches themselves would be converted. Several requests for missions had, indeed, already been made by the Apaches, but the military authorities at San Antonio declared that this friendliness was only a ruse by which to regain their captive kinsmen taken in various campaigns. The missionaries continued to believe in the sincerity of the Indians, however, and succeeded in inducing the captain of the *presidio* to pursue a conciliatory policy. In March, 1749, messengers from the Apaches assured the Spaniards that they wished to be friends and would no longer trouble the settlement. True to their word, depredations did cease, and even the soldiers were forced to believe that the Indians intended to keep their promises. The continued friendly intercourse led at length to the very important step of releasing the captives, who were freed in the latter part of November.¹

2. *The Guadalupe River Plan.*²—On September 24, 1749, a party of Apaches who constituted a portion of the Indians with whom the missionaries had been treating since August, visited San Antonio, and asked to be allowed to live in the missions there. Father Mariano de los Dolores, who, in the absence of Father Santa Ana, was in charge of Mission Valero, was convinced that the time for definite action had arrived. Although, on account of lack of provisions and fear of the consequences that might follow from the association of the converted with the unconverted Indians, he could not accede to this particular request, he was unwilling to postpone the matter further, and resolved to attempt an establishment, if only a temporary one, upon the Guadalupe River. The idea of founding a mission on this stream now became a pet scheme cherished by Father Dolores for many years and for which

¹*Autos* of Urrutia, November 28, 1749, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 122-213. Domingo Cabello fixes the date of the release as August 18, but subsequent investigations have shown that this was a mistake, and that the prisoners did not receive their freedom until November 28. (See *THE QUARTERLY*, XIV, 261-262.)

²The documents on which this paper is based are in the private collection of Dr. Herbert E. Bolton.

he later intrigued, it was alleged, in a manner not entirely creditable. The priest explained to the Indians that it would be impossible for them to live at San Antonio, and that until they should give undoubted proof of their sincerity, no establishment could be given them in their own country. He promised, however, that as soon as permission could be obtained from the viceroy a mission would be founded for them on the Guadalupe.

In support of his plan Father Dolores explained to Captain Urrutia the advantages of the proposed site. No garrison would be necessary, since those of San Antonio and San Xavier could quickly suppress any revolt at the first signs of inquietude. Indeed, a revolt would not be a serious matter, for it could be easily quelled by a campaign, which would serve the double purpose of punishing the Apaches and of obtaining workers for the new missions. He did not expect such an occurrence, however, in view of the peaceful state of the natives. But the bright prospects might be spoiled if haste were not made; for it was even then rumored that the Apaches had formed an alliance with the Kado-dacho Indians, through whom, if precautions were not taken, they might become friends of the French. In view of these conditions, and since the Apaches were anxious to congregate, the good father believed that Captain Urrutia would be warranted in asking the viceroy for authority to carry out the proposed plan, and he requested the Captain to ask only that provisions should be made for founding one or two missions until it could be seen how many Indians should present themselves.¹

Captain Urrutia was loath to act solely upon the strength of Father Dolores's assertions, and when, on November 11, the priest returned from a visit to the San Xavier missions, he learned that nothing had been done in the matter. He now presented another petition, repeating many of his former arguments and citing recent developments which he thought warranted immediate action. He said that he had promised to advise the Apaches within five moons of the viceroy's determination, and that he had assured them that by that time the missions would be established.

¹*Escrito* of Fray Mariano de los Dolores, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 115-117.

The Apaches, he said, would not brook any such delay as had occurred at San Xavier.¹

When Dolores made his second appeal, the captives had just been released, and Captain Urrutia, as well as Father Dolores, was convinced that the time was propitious for founding the mission. In consequence, on December 1 the officer addressed a formal request to the viceroy for the establishment of a mission for the Apaches and urged that no time should be lost in carrying out the pact that had been made with them.²

The enthusiasm of the zealous ones at San Antonio as shown in the documents sent to the viceroy did not produce corresponding emotions in the officials at Mexico City. The representations of Dolores and Urrutia were sent to the auditor, Altamira, for his consideration, but he gave an opinion anything but favorable to the project. After a long discourse upon Indian affairs in America in general, he stated that, according to the documents that he had received, permission was asked to found a mission and *presidio* for a handful of Indians concerning whom nothing definite seemed to be known. A *presidio* costing more than \$20,000 a year, he curtly observed, could not be established for every petty band of Indians who manifested, perhaps only temporarily, a desire to enter missions. Until a detailed statement should be given concerning the supplies needed, the number of Indians available, the priests who would be necessary, and the site selected, no action could be taken in the matter, and he advised that Urrutia be instructed to that effect.³ The viceroy ordered these suggestions transmitted to Urrutia, which was done on February 2.⁴

Thus, owing to the Spanish system of red tape, Father Dolores's plan came to an end for the time being. The viceroy was later given to understand that the Guadalupe plan had been abandoned on account of "certain inconveniences."⁵ Why the matter was not further pressed we do not know. Perhaps it was because of another scheme proposed by Father Santa Ana—that of establishing a mission on the Pedernales River.

¹*Escrito* of Fray Mariano de los Dolores, November 29, 1749, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 118-121.

²Urrutia to the viceroy, December 1, 1749, *Ibid.*, ff. 123-125.

³Auditor's *parecer*, January 31, 1750, *Ibid.*, ff. 125-130.

⁴Viceroy's decree, *Ibid.*, f. 130.

⁵Auditor's *parecer*, February 17, 1750, *Ibid.*, f. 134.

3. *The Pedernales River Plan.*—Father Santa Ana, president of the San Antonio missions, had resolved to undertake the long journey to Mexico City in order to make a personal plea for Apache missions. He arrived there in the latter part of 1749, or in January of the following year, and about the middle of February made a proposition differing materially from that which had been made by Father Dolores. Father Santa Ana's proposal was a radical one. Without making the usual lengthy introductory remarks in his communication to the viceroy, he asked that orders should be given for the removal of the *presidio* of San Antonio de Béxar, with its entire garrison, to the Pedernales River (or to a more distant location if necessary), in order that a Spanish *pueblo* might be formed under its protection, and that a mission might be founded for the Apaches. The site should be chosen, with the co-operation of the chiefs who wished to "congregate," at a distance of two or three leagues from the *presidio*, and there the Apaches should encamp until the actual establishment of the mission. Upon the completion of these arrangements, a detailed account should be sent to the viceroy in order that the necessary permission might be secured.¹

The region in which Father Santa Ana proposed to found the mission was the mountainous section along the Pedernales River, which was then frequented by the Apaches, especially during the buffalo season. The Pedernales has been reduced in modern geographical nomenclature to the rank of a creek, but it is a stream of fairly good size, flowing into the Colorado about twenty miles northwest of Austin. The fact that this region was selected is significant, for it indicates that the missionaries were beginning to see that it was advisable for the Apaches to be given missions in their own country.

The somewhat indefinite and altogether radical nature of Father Santa Ana's proposal did not favorably impress the auditor, to whom the communication had been sent on February 13. That official immediately raised a number of objections, beginning his

¹Santa Ana to the viceroy, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 131-133. The date is probably February 13, 1750. Bonilla (*Breve Compendio*, 23) says that Father Dolores proposed the Pedernales plan and later the Guadalupe plan. He has the chronology reversed and his account is very inaccurate.

observations by saying that it seemed to be expected that solely on the strength of a request unsupported by details the work of years in Texas should be undone at a single stroke. His chief criticism of the plan was the lack of protection for the citizens of San Antonio in case the *presidio* were removed; and he doubted whether there was a single family available for the proposed *pueblo*. No exact information was given about the Apaches, although sufficient time had elapsed since the beginning of the negotiations with them to obtain full particulars concerning those who wished to enter missions. Nevertheless, he deemed the matter of sufficient importance to warrant the calling of a council at San Antonio to discuss the advisability of the removal to the Pedernales, and he reported to the viceroy to this effect.¹

Two days later Father Santa Ana was shown the auditor's report, which had been, as usual, accepted by the viceroy, and in reply submitted a long report, as he had promised, in justification of his plan. In this document he summarized past relations with the Apaches, and endeavored to explain fully all points to which the auditor had objected. He had suggested the use of the *presidio* of Béxar because he believed it was most suitable for the purpose, since its captain was both loved and feared by the Indians and its soldiers were competent and well paid.² He had chosen the Pedernales region because it was the gateway to the Apache country and a *pueblo* and *presidio* located there would serve the double purpose of defense and conversion. As there seemed to be much doubt in the minds of the authorities concerning the peaceful disposition of the Apaches, in spite of the many assurances that had been given to this effect by the captain of Béxar and the priests, Father Santa Ana suggested that the captain of La Bahía or the lieutenant of Santa Rosa should be sent to explore the Pedernales country and make a report upon the whole matter for the instruction of the viceroy. The College of Santa Cruz, he said, was ready to undertake the conversion of the Apaches, and he felt assured that the same success would attend their efforts as had been gained in the region between the Rio

¹Auditor's *parecer*, February 13, 1750, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 133-135.

²This phrase, "well paid," can hardly be accepted unless taken in a comparative sense.

Grande and the San Xavier. The conversion of the Apaches, without doubt, would enable San Antonio to develop her many resources and would cause a wave of prosperity to spread over the whole region. Since this was generally recognized to be true, it seemed superfluous, he said, to waste time in asking the citizens to vote upon the matter, and he again begged the viceroy to give without further delay the orders necessary for the execution of his petition.¹

But this letter did not convince the auditor of the wisdom of the plan; indeed, it raised new difficulties in his mind. Accordingly, he refused to take any immediate steps, and advised that the whole question should be thoroughly investigated in the *junta* to be held at San Antonio. He recommended further that the deliberations should be participated in by the lieutenant of the *presidio* of Santa Rosa and by the missionaries at San Antonio, promising that when the report of the *junta* should be received the corresponding provisions would be made.²

The order for the *junta*, together with the accompanying documents, were dispatched to Captain Urrutia on March 11,³ and on June 16 that official notified Father Dolores that he and his fellow missionaries would be expected to appear in the council, which he set for the 20th of that month.⁴

Just at this time, unfortunately for the success of his plan, Father Santa Ana fell ill, and was compelled to retire from the presidency of the missions. He was succeeded by Father Dolores,⁵ who at once showed his opposition to the Pedernales plan. In reply to Captain Urrutia's order summoning the priests to the *junta*, he took occasion to express his strong disapproval of the removal of the *presidio*. Although he did not doubt that beneficent results would follow the establishment of a mission in the Pedernales country, Santa Ana's scheme, he said, was impracticable for two reasons. In the first place, the inhabitants of San Antonio were extremely poor and depended upon the pay of

¹Santa Ana to the viceroy, in "Memorias de Nueva España," XXVIII, ff. 142-146.

²Auditor's *parecer*, February 27, 1750, *Ibid.*, ff. 147-148.

³*Razon*, *Ibid.*, f. 149.

⁴Urrutia to Dolores, Exorto del Capn, 1-2.

⁵Tanto de lo que se presentó, 1.

the soldiers for their support. To remove the *presidio* would be to destroy the only source of revenue possessed by the settlement. Secondly, although the Apaches in the Pedernales region might be held in check by the removal of the *presidio*, San Antonio would be left exposed to the ravages of the Julimes, Natagés, and other hostile Indians from the Rio Grande country.¹ Having thus given his reasons for opposing Santa Ana's plan, Father Dolores now requested that the missionaries should be excused from attending the *junta*. His ostensible objection was the loss of prestige and dignity which he believed would result to the priests from association with the citizens on a plane of equality; but he probably feared also an adverse report upon the whole question of Apache missions, and did not wish to lend the weight of the missionaries' presence to a hostile popular assembly. Even if the priests should attend the meeting, he said, their judgment would undoubtedly be overruled by the prejudiced votes of the vulgar majority, and if evil results ensued the priests would receive just as much condemnation as those really responsible for the unwise action. Important matters, he believed, should be deliberated upon by wise and experienced men, and not by the common rabble. In his judgment, the council was entirely unnecessary. Since the principal issue to be decided was the advisability of removing the *presidio*, it would only be necessary to make a general muster of the forces and weapons available for the defense of the town in order to convince the viceroy that such a step would be the greatest folly.²

In spite of Father Dolores's efforts to have the order for the *junta* revoked, the meeting was held upon the day set, and his suggestion for a muster of the defenses was disregarded.³ Not only was the general opinion of the council strongly opposed to the removal of the *presidio*, but, just as Father Dolores had foreseen, it protested against any plan to found a mission for the Apaches in their own country. Instead, it was asserted that it would be more advisable to locate a mission nearer San Antonio, although, as the priest said, those who urged this step knew that

¹Dolores to Urrutia, Exorto del Capn, 2-4.

²*Ibid.*, 2-14.

³Memorial presentado por el R. P. Presidte., Sept. 17, 1750, 1-2.

it was impossible to induce the Apaches to leave their own land. The majority of the citizens were, from selfish motives, it was charged, really opposed to the establishment of missions for the Apaches in any form, and much evidence was introduced to show that the Indians were not yet in a condition to warrant such a step. Every possible accusation against their good faith was brought up in the *junta*, and although a formal investigation made at the request of Father Dolores disproved these charges, the conflicting reports and opinions produced the effect desired by the citizens, and caused only greater indecision on the part of the officials in Mexico, delaying still longer any definite action.¹ Thus the second plan for an Apache mission came to naught.

III. THE MISSION OF SAN LORENZO

1. *A New Apostle to the Apaches.*—Although the efforts of the missionaries at San Antonio to secure the permission of the authorities for an Apache mission within that jurisdiction had failed, for the time being, in the jurisdiction of San Juan Bautista, on the Rio Grande, the necessary sanction was obtained, and an Apache mission plan was actually developed and put into operation. This mission was a logical step in the evolution of the San Sabá plan, and had much influence upon the subsequent inauguration of that enterprise.

To Father Alonzo Giraldo de Terreros is due the credit of establishing this first formal mission for the Texas Apaches.² He was a friar of much experience in the missionary field, having formerly been among the Indians of eastern Texas for several years. He had been guardian of the College of Santa Cruz at Querétaro, and was known to be one of the most zealous and devout of the Franciscans in New Spain. In February, 1752, he was appointed president of the Texas missions, to succeed Father Mariano de los Dolores, who was to be transferred to the Rio Grande district.³ It seems that this order was changed, however,

¹Memorial presentado por el R. P. Presidte., Sept. 17, 1750, 2-5.

²In 1750 a chief named Pastellano had applied at San Juan Bautista for a mission. A site was chosen and missionaries assigned, but the Indians deserted the first night, before it was really put into operation (Informe de los prelados, Rodríguez to the viceroy, November 12, 1772).

³The guardian to Terreros, February 18, 1752 (B. MS.).

for Father Terreros went to the Rio Grande country, while Father Dolores remained at San Antonio. Just what the facts in the case were, we do not know, but, at any rate, we find that in 1754 Terreros was minister at the mission of San Juan Bautista, working zealously for the conversion of the Apaches and confident that the labors of years were at last about to be crowned with success.

2. *The Founding of San Lorenzo.*¹—The Apache bands among whom Father Terreros was laboring, were intimate relatives of those which frequented San Antonio, and, indeed, were later said to be the same Indians.² There is probably much truth in this statement, but the Indians were apparently not entirely identical. According to a communication of Don Pedro de Rábago y Thera, governor of Coahuila, addressed to the viceroy under date of June 3, 1754, the tribes represented in the mission planned by Father Terreros were the Natajés, Síbolas, and Tucubantes. Governor Rábago reported that in virtue of the treaties that had been made with these tribes, there were then encamped on both sides of the Rio Grande, near the new town of San Fernando de Austria,³ more than nine hundred Indians, led by three chiefs, all of whom were "inclined" to enter missions. While he was not overconfident of their sincerity, Rábago said, he had nevertheless deemed it justifiable to maintain the Indians as "guests" until the pleasure of the viceroy could be learned. He asked, therefore, that an order should be sent to the captain of the *presidio* of San Juan Bautista instructing him to investigate the matter, in co-operation with the missionaries there.⁴

After having passed successively through the hands of the viceroy and the auditor, Rábago's communication was referred to Andreu, the royal fiscal. The fiscal was not very sure of the advisability of taking the matter up, for many times similar re-

¹The sketch which follows is drawn from a manuscript summary made by Dr. Bolton from the original records of the founding of the mission, discovered by him in Saltillo, Mexico. But for it, this incident in the missionary history of the Texas Apaches would be almost entirely unknown.

²Rodriguez to Bustillo, March 18, 1755, in Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo," 6.

³San Fernando de Austria had been founded the year before, and was about twenty leagues from San Juan Bautista, south of the Rio Grande.

⁴Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo," 1-2.

quests for missions had been made by the Indians in the neighborhood of San Juan Bautista and nothing had ever materialized. He decided, however, to recommend the granting of Rábago's request for an investigation, and advised that a full report should be made by Rábago and the missionaries concerning the number of Indians, their intentions, the kind of land and mission sites available, and, in fact, all matters pertinent to the undertaking.¹

The auditor, Valcarcel, to whom the documents were now returned, agreed in the main with Andreu's opinion, and while concurring in the recommendation to make a full investigation, added the warning that much caution should be observed, since experience had shown that the Indians concerned would desert readily and would commit hostilities under cover of peace. As Governor Rábago was about to set out for Texas, where he would command the new *presidio* of San Xavier, it would be impossible for him to conduct the investigation; and Valcarcel recommended, therefore, that the lieutenant-governor, Juan Antonio de Bustillo y Zevallos, should take his place, being aided by the captain of San Juan Bautista, who was familiar with the Apaches and their ways.² On September 20 the viceroy issued a decree in accordance with the auditor's opinion.³ The delivery of the decree was entrusted to Father Guerra of the College of Santa Cruz, who presented it to Bustillo in Monclova on November 22. On December 2 the lieutenant-governor set out for San Juan Bautista, where he arrived on the 9th.⁴ The expedition was quickly organized and arrangements were made to leave on the 13th. The leaders of the party were Lieutenant-Governor Bustillo, Lieutenant Vicente Rodríguez, in charge of the *presidio*, and Father Terreros, then president of the missions of the Rio Grande and minister in San Juan Bautista.⁵

Although the Indians had expressed a desire to settle on the San Rodrigo River, a place known as San Ildefonso was thought to be a more suitable location, and to this point the expedition

¹Fiscal's reply, September 6, 1754, Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission of San Lorenzo," 2.

²Auditor's *parecer*, September 16, *Ibid.*, 2-3.

³Viceroy's decree, *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴*Obediencia*, *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵*Notificacion*, *Ibid.*, 3.

made its way. The site was eighteen leagues west of the *presidio* and two leagues from the Villa of San Fernando de Austria. The formal examination was made on December 18, and the testimony showed, as might be expected by one familiar with such proceedings, that it was an ideal spot for missions, with good land and plenty of water, the two essential requirements.¹

Two days later Bustillo and Terreros visited a large gathering of Apaches, said to reach the number of two thousand, and held a council with the chiefs and principal men. The Indians approved the site selected, and on December 21 they were given formal possession of the *pueblo* of San Lorenzo, as it was called, "under the protection of San Ildefonso." Although the San Rodrigo site was also examined and pronounced good, no attempt, it seems, was made to establish a mission there, and all efforts were centered upon San Lorenzo.²

3. *Failure of the Mission.*—Father Terreros took charge of the new mission, and his efforts were attended with a considerable degree of temporary success. By the early part of March, 1755, or within less than three months, at least fifty-two Apaches were in the mission,³ and by the latter part of that month this number had been increased to eighty-three. The necessary buildings were constructed, and a good irrigation ditch dug. Among the neophytes were the chiefs, El Gordo, El de Godo, and Bigotes. We are told that the interpreter was an Ypande named Francisco del Norte. This would indicate a connection with the more northern Apache bands.⁴

After getting things into good running order, as he thought, Father Terreros retired from the management of the mission, and returned to Querétaro, where he was soon to take up the larger project of missionary work in the San Sabá country. He was succeeded at San Lorenzo by Fray Martín García, who had formerly been stationed at San Antonio and who later went to the missions of Sonora. Concerning the operation of the mission we

¹Examination, Bolton, "Summary of the Founding of the Mission San Lorenzo," 3.

²*Ibid.*, 4.

³Letters of Rodríguez and of Bustillo, February and March respectively, *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴Rodríguez to Bustillo, March 18, 1755, *Ibid.*, 4-5.

have almost no information, except for the report which Father García made shortly after his arrival. His statement to the effect that the mission Indians were the same as those with whom he had been acquainted at San Antonio since 1749 has already been referred to. According to the Indians themselves, he said, their reason for entering San Lorenzo was because Father Dolores had refused to give them missions in Texas. This statement strengthens the impression that a portion of the Apaches were little more than professional beggars, traveling from place to place, wherever under the pretext of a desire for missions they might hoodwink the Spaniards and secure enough food to sustain their lazy bodies.¹

That selfish desires prompted their apparent submission at San Lorenzo upon this occasion is borne out by the subsequent history of the mission. On June 18, 1755, Father Felix Gutiérrez Varona was assigned to the mission, but in spite of his efforts to curb the growing discontent of the neophytes, on the night of October 4 they revolted, burned all the buildings of the mission, and deserted permanently. Father Gutiérrez remained at the abandoned site for some time, trying to repair the damage and re-establish the mission. His efforts were fruitless, however, and finally all attempt to regain the Indians was given up.²

The failure of San Lorenzo was attributed, and justly, no doubt, to the natural inconstancy of the Apaches and their reluctance to live in missions outside of the region which they habitually frequented—that is, north and northwest of San Antonio, in the section traversed by the Pedernales, Llano, and San Sabá Rivers.

This failure of a mission for the Apaches in the Rio Grande country constituted an argument for planting one in their own country, and led logically to the establishments on the San Sabá River. In a future paper I shall describe the various steps by which the San Sabá plan was developed, and shall give a detailed history of the operation of this mission, together with its heretofore little known successors on the Nueces River.

¹*Ibid.*, 6.

²Certificación de Vicente Rodríguez, Oct. 12, 1755, 2 pp.; Consulta del Sor Fiscal respta. de los Padres, August 25, 1756, 1 p.